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A LETTER

TO

HIS MAJESTY THE KING,

On the Treatment of his Royal Consort; with a Preface, taking a View of the Revolutionary Prospects of the Continent.

London, July 27, 1820.

May it please your Majesty,

At last the times are growing so serious, as to make even power begin to think. It is my intention to address your Majesty on the subject of the *treatment of your Royal Consort*. But, before I do that, let me beseech your attention to some observations on the *revolutionary prospects on the Continent*, leaving you to judge of the time and manner, when and how that which is now taking place abroad may affect your Majesty and your dominions.

"How vain!" some one will

exclaim. "How silly! to suppose that *the King* will ever even see, much less attend to, what you are writing!" True, if it were a sealed packet, sent through SIDMOUTH. But, it is not; and, if you never see it, half a million of people may. It is possible, too, that you may see it; and, in that case, the circumstance of its being addressed to yourself, may, perhaps, induce you to bestow a half a minute's attention upon it more than you otherwise would have done.

That Kings, and even ministers, in a government like ours, very seldom hear any *useful truth*, until too late, is pretty certain. There is a very sufficient reason for this, in the *immediate interest* of all those who surround them, and whose chief object is to raise themselves in riches and in rank; an object which is to be attained only by the favour of the powerful, which favour was never yet secured by the relating of *disagreeable truths*. Your Majesty

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may be an exception; but kings and ministers generally say to their underlings, as the Israelites are reported to have said to their prophets; "prophecy to us *smooth* things: prophecy to us *lies*."

Those underlings seem to have constantly before them the example of *Gil Blas*, when confidant of the Count-Duke of OLIVAREZ. "When," says he, "I perceived that the minister liked to hear what the people thought and said of him, I went out myself in the evenings, and mixed in conversation with the people. When they talked about the government, I listened with great attention; and when I heard any thing worthy of being repeated to his Excellence, I took care to let him know it. But, it must be observed, that I never reported any thing that was not favourable to him."

This is the grand secret of rising at court! There needs nothing more. No knowledge: no talent: no industry: simply to flatter, and to flatter, in this particular manner, is all that is required. And, in past ages, kings and ministers went on very well with this.

But, in *this age*, it will not do. There must now be *truth* at the tables of rulers; or their sway cannot last long.

In addressing your Majesty, upon the present occasion, I may appeal to past addresses with some degree of confidence. In 1812, I took great pains to dissuade you from suffering your ministers (though supported by both factions) to plunge us into a war with the American States. I then, before the war began, clearly pointed out the impossibility of its succeeding; and I as clearly showed, that the war must be attended with enormous *pecuniary loss*, and with *deep disgrace* to our fleets and armies. That war was, however, begun and persevered in. It cost this nation *seventy millions of money*; and, in its result as well as in its progress, it affixed such disgrace upon our arms, by sea as well as by land, as those arms had never before sustained; besides absolutely *creating a navy* to brave us upon the ocean, in every part of the world. Nevertheless, all those of us, who were not content to live and die slaves, were compelled to pray for such a result! For, if that war had succeeded: If that last resort of freedom

had been destroyed, what hope could have remained to the then oppressed millions of Europe! It was truly said, at that time, by the advocates of that war, that, while the *example of America remained*, there was *no safety* for what Castlereagh called the SOCIAL SYSTEM. It does remain. The glorious example lives. And there is *no safety* for Castlereagh's System.

In other letters, addressed to your Majesty soon afterwards, I pointed out the delusiveness of those hopes, which had been founded on the fall of Napoleon; and, when your grand Negotiator, Castlereagh, came home from the Continent, flushed with success, I observed, that he and his associates of Austria and Prussia and Russia had really *over-reached themselves*: that *their policy*, even according to their own views and wishes, *was the foolishness* that could be imagined: that, having a desire to put a final stop to revolutions, they ought, by all means, to have left Napoleon on the throne of France: that he was a protector of kings: that he was beloved and admired by the most powerful nation on the Con-

“*continent*: that his vanity and ambition were a safe guarantee against his ever attempting any thing for the freedom of mankind: that his fame, that his personal character and his deeds, threw a splendour round his throne, and made his people in love with, or, at least, not ashamed of, their chains. Whereas, to place the Old Bourbons and their Old Noblesse in France and in Naples and Spain, would be sure to lead to new revolutions; it being impossible that the people of these countries, after having such men as NAPOLEON at their head, could ever submit patiently to the Old Bourbon sway: and that, therefore, new revolutions would break out; and that, too, without resistance; seeing, that our government, from its beggared state, would be wholly unable to enter on another crusade against freedom; and that, though the boroughmongers might curse, they might, like SHIMEI, curse on; for, that they would be able to do nothing to prevent the second series of revolutions from being crowned with success.”

This was, Sir, addressed to you, not very distant from the day, when the grand Negotiator, that "*statesman-like*" Castlereagh, was received in the House of Commons with *clapping of hands*! I have not forgotten the empty boasts; the at once empty and malignant language of that day. I had a reliance on the *Debt*; and, that alone would now be sufficient; but, the *new series* is begun from without; all the schemes of the Holy Alliance are blown into air, or, at least, they shortly will be; the time and manner of the *close* being a matter of *curiosity* rather than of interest. The Boroughmongers *do curse*, I warrant them. But, they confine their curses *within their teeth this time*. Oh! that Burke were still alive! I dare say he would still bellow away. But for this once, his bellowing would be unavailing. "*Representative Government*" is the order of the day; and it will prevail in spite of all that can be done to prevent its spread and its establishment.

It will be useless for me to endeavour to turn your Majesty's attention to the influence, which the glorious revolutions of Spain and Naples may have in other

parts of the world; for, if that influence be not *already* a subject of your *constant meditation*, nothing that I can say will be of any avail with you or your advisers. Nevertheless, I cannot refrain from just stating the case of the *Radicals* to your Majesty. If you do not deign to read it, or, reading it, do not deign to pay attention to it, the fault will not be mine.

The word *Radical* has, by Corruption's press, been made use of to point out men, who ought not only to be held in abhorrence and to be punished with the utmost severity; but who ought to be considered as *out of the protection of the law*; as being upon a footing with *mad dogs, or wild beasts*, to destroy whom, no matter in what way, is a *laudable act*! Thus, this press (including that of the *Whigs*, the base Whigs!) give accounts of men taken up and committed to *jail*, on a *charge of Radicalism*; of others being apprehended *on suspicion of Radicalism*; of others being shot or scabred as *Radicals*!

Who would not imagine, then, that *Radical* and *Traitor* meant the same thing? The fact is, however, that the *Radicals* ask for nothing that is not

strictly according to the laws and constitution of their country. They are injured and oppressed men, who ask for *legal redress*. The laws of England say, that *no man shall be taxed without his own consent*; that no man shall be bound by laws, to which he, by his representative, does not give his assent. It is notorious, that comparatively very few of us have liberty to vote for representatives; and we wish to have that liberty. The law strictly forbids peers to interfere in elections. The law strictly forbids the selling of seats. We wish the law to be strictly observed. And, are we traitors for this? Shall we be out-lawed for this wish? Shall we be killed, or banished, because we wish for such a Reform as would insure the *due execution of the laws*?

A *Radical* is a man who thinks, that he ought not to be taxed without his own consent; who thinks that he ought to be amenable to no law to which he has not, by himself or his representative, given his assent; who knows that he gives a large part of his earnings in taxes, that he is liable to be forced to take up arms and venture his life in defence of the country,

and who thinks, therefore, that he is entitled to a vote in the choosing of those who make the laws; who thinks that the Duke of Richmond's Bill, giving a vote to every man, including soldiers and sailors, was a just and wise proposition; who wishes for a Reform upon the principles of that Bill; and who has never proposed to trench upon any one of the privileges of the peers or prerogatives of the king. This is a *Radical*! And yet, this man is spoken of as a monster! And we are coolly told, that such and such have been sent to jail on a charge of *Radicalism*!

Your Majesty may be assured, that these things; that what we have been beholding and feeling for three years and a half last past; that the Dungeon Bill, Sidmouth's Circular, the Imprisonments under the Dungeon Bill, the Manchester affair, the Oldham Inquest, the Six Acts, and numerous other things, will never be rooted out of our minds. And, if your Majesty had wise ministers, they would, with all possible dispatch, advise you to adopt such measures of conciliation as would tend to remove the stings of recollection. Your Majesty do not, you

cannot, know what is passing in the minds of your people. If you knew only a fiftieth part of it, it must produce a *change*; not of your ministers for the selfish and stupid old Whigs; that is not what I mean; but a change in the mode of treating the great mass of the people; and, above all things, a change in the mode of choosing the Members of the House of Commons.

This is the *grand and ever-present object*. All other objects are *incidental*. To be sure the case of her Majesty, the Queen, is great in itself. It takes fast hold of every heart. When we trace her Majesty through her unparalleled persecutions, we, for a moment, forget our own sufferings and wrongs. But, still, the *Men in Dungeons* return soon to our recollection; nor do we overlook the *dreadful preparations now going on*. When I look at these things, I really am wonder-stricken, that there can be found men, who appear to suppose, that all this is, at last, to blow over like a summer cloud! who appear to suppose, that human passions as well as human reason are to yield to their interest and humour! And who are as deaf to the warnings

of danger as to the cries of humanity!

In order to avoid coming too close, is there any one, in his senses, who thinks, that *France* can remain for a year without a *Second Revolution*? Such a thing is the most likely in the world. It is a thing that appears *inevitable*. The effect of that revolution I dare not describe. But its *bare probability* is enough to suggest measures in the way of *preparation*. A man, in whose breast *revenge* is boiling, must wish for no such measures. He must wish to see the elements of destruction go on collecting themselves together; augmenting their mass; and remaining undiminished to the day of explosion.

The state of your Majesty's dominions is such as to *insure* a *great change* of some sort or other. Things cannot go on in the present way. To produce a change there needs no *incident*. The regular undeviating progress is towards a great change, and that change must include a *Reform of the House of Commons*. If, then, this progress be accelerated by *incidental events*, whether without or within, what madness is it not to anticipate events, and to

prevent, by timely conciliation, the effects of the triumph of the injured!

Amongst these incidental events is that which now agitates the country, and which has been rendered formidable by predisposing causes. Her Majesty, the Queen, has been accused of *making common cause with the Radicals*, than which nothing can in itself be more ridiculous. For, amongst the imputed sins of the Radicals, that of wishing to *degrade Royalty* has always been one. It is ludicrous enough, therefore, now to accuse them of the crime of thinking, that the Queen *ought not to be degraded*. But, the fact is, that the Queen's cause *naturally allies itself* with that of the Radicals. They are *complainants*, and so is the Queen. They have had and have their dungeonings; and the Queen has her prosecution. They are threatened, and her Majesty has been threatened. They have had their petitions rejected, so has the Queen her's. The Queen has demanded open trial, so did they when sent to dungeons by Sidmouth. They have had spies set upon them, and the Queen has had spies set upon her. Green Bags and

Secret Committees were their lot, these, too, have been the lot of her Majesty. Corruption's press applauds the chopping of them down by the swords of Yeomanry, and the same press calls for the Queen being made a *martyr* even if she be no criminal. That press represents the Radicals as beings to be kicked and thumped, and it exhibits the Queen as worthy of Bridewell and the whip!

Besides all these circumstances of similarity, those who appear as the prosecutors of the Queen, have also been the prosecutors of the Radicals; and, which is the *great thing of all*, it is as clear as day-light, that the *Boroughmongers to a man, are enemies of the Queen*. Their motives for enmity to her are plain enough. CANNING explained that matter, when he described her Majesty's *gracious, affable, unaffected and winning manners and deportment!* The Boroughmongers know well what are the feelings which their haughtiness, insolence and cruelty have created. They know, that they are, and always will be, detested and abhorred; or, at least, that, if the detestation and abhorrence cease, contempt must

supply the place of them. These things they know well; and, therefore, they cannot endure the thought of seeing *popular Royalty*. CANNING says, that he advised the Queen to quit the country, because he saw, that "*faction had marked her as its own*"! That is to say, he saw, that the cities of London and Westminster, upon the developement of the persecutions against her, and, upon the publication of *proofs of her innocence*, had presented *affectionate addresses to her*! Was there ever before such a reason given for advising a person to *quit a country*? What a disposition must this man have had? "*Faction*"! What does he mean by *faction*? Faction is a combination of men, whose object it is to thwart, for their own selfish purpose, the regular powers of the state. What *faction*, then, had the Queen any thing to do with?

But, what he really meant, was, that he saw, that the Queen was calculated to become *popular*; and, that was then seen by the *Boroughmongers*, and it is also *seen by them now*. Accordingly, *they have taken good care not to go near her Majesty*; and also to *forbid*

their understrappers to go near her. They thought, that, by thus acting, they should *disgust* the Queen with the country; that they should *terrify* her also; that they should *frown her away*; and that they should thus get rid of this cause of fear. But, her Majesty has, *this time*, got into society with *truth and honesty and real wisdom*. She has appealed to the hearts of the people; and she has found safety. The Boroughmongers are ready to gnaw their hands off. *Their Lawyer* has been counteracted by her Majesty's discernment and resolution. All the budget of tricks have failed. All the sarcasms cast upon the "*absolute wisdom*" that brought her Majesty to London by *day-light*, have been turned into jests on the wise men who put forth those sarcasms.

The Queen, may it please your Majesty, has now had an opportunity of knowing what the people *really are*. I would to God, that your Majesty could be as well and truly and honestly advised, in this case, as your Royal Consort has been! What might we not then expect from your excellent understanding and your naturally mild

and generous disposition! Her Majesty *now* knows what Boroughmongers *really are*. What interests they have; what it is that makes them hate all popular Royalty; why they hate her; and why they want her *fairly out of the country*, and with all convenient speed! Her Majesty knows by this time what is meant by the word *Radical*; why the Boroughmongers hate the Radicals; why Boroughmongers love to be Boroughmongers; and, knowing all these things, her Majesty has, I dare say, been able to trace out, with great accuracy, all the motives of the Honourable and Learned Member for *Winchelsea*, of which *Winchelsea* and all its independent electors her Majesty has, I dare say, become acquainted with the real history.

This is truly useful knowledge! It is "under the circumstances of her Majesty's position," to use a Protocol-phrase, worth all other kinds of knowledge put together. It enables her Majesty to know *who is who*; to know how far she can place reliance; to know what are the motives of men; to know what she has to expect from them; to see the springs

of action; to see how men are held, bound, turned, twisted, and managed. It will enable her Majesty to account, in a most satisfactory manner, for many things that must otherwise appear wholly mysterious. It will serve her Majesty as a sort of *second-sight*. It will give her a view of the strings, pegs, wires, and springes; and will enable her, at last, to escape being caught.

There is one thing, which has shocked the whole nation; and I am sure, that your Majesty has participated in the feeling; namely, that neither House of Parliament should have produced, or, rather, brought forward, one single man to *volunteer* his talents in defence of the Queen! Doctor Lushington's conduct has been manly and able; General Ferguson, Mr. Creevey, and Sir Francis Burdett, have spoken boldly: but, surely, it was a case to call forth some one gallant man to go to her Majesty, to offer his services to her, to assist her with his counsels, and to devote his whole time and all his talents and energy to her cause. But, really, Sir, in this huckstering, stock-jobbing age, the love of fame seems to have been obli-

terated from the human heart! There are young men; officers of the army; officers of the navy: and not one, even of these, has stepped forward! In such men, and in such a case, even indiscretion and temerity are right, and the want of them almost a crime. Miserable indeed is that state of society when, in such a case, men are under the sway of cold calculation!

If this appeared shocking to the people, it has, doubtless, not been overlooked by her Majesty; and, when turning her eyes towards the people, she has seen such ardent zeal and such disinterested exertions in her cause; so much warmth of affection towards herself, and so much indignation against her enemies; when her Majesty has had this comparison pressed upon her; and has seen, withal, so much and such superiority of talent range itself voluntarily on her side "*out of doors*," is it any wonder that her Majesty, with that frankness, sincerity and courage that belongs to her character, should have openly avowed her reliance upon the people?

Let those, therefore, who complain, that her Majesty relies on the people, ask themselves the

cause; and, if they find that cause in their own conduct, let them no longer complain of any body but themselves. That conduct, however, will, at last, have been found to be fortunate for her Majesty. For, if a yacht had been sent to meet her at Calais; if a Palace had been provided for her reception; if she had been received with military honours; and if a suitable proportion of Boroughmongers had visited her: if this had been the plan adopted, her Majesty's security would not have been what it is at this moment. It was impossible for the nation to behold the treatment of the Queen without *feeling for her*; and, when it found, that rank and wealth keep aloof, it involuntarily stepped forward. Some of the first reports gave her *Countess Fitzwilliam* for a visitor; and, it was observed, that *Countess Fitzwilliam*, or some one for her, *contradicted this*; than which a grosser insult never was offered to any human being. These circumstances, trifling as they were in themselves, went very far in deciding the nation: and, when it saw, that the sole object was *to drive her Majesty from England*, its mind became unalterably fixed.

It is for the interest of your Majesty and of us all, that this matter should be terminated justly and tranquilly; and my opinion is, that, even now, the safest and best course to pursue would be to put her Majesty in full and entire and quiet possession of all her rights. My reasons for believing this are founded on that state of the public mind and the state of the country. And I do most sincerely believe, that if your Majesty were truly informed of what is thought, what is said, and what is expected, we should soon be relieved from all further agitation on this melancholy subject.

There is, in the bare facts of her Majesty's history, enough deeply to interest a people of much less sensibility than the people of this kingdom are well known to be. A deficiency in politeness has, and with some shew of justice, been ascribed to us. We have been called rude and arrogant; but whatever other faults we may have, a want of humanity, a want of kindness, a want of the warmest affection, certainly do not belong to the inhabitants of this island, or of any part of the kingdom; and, of all the people in the whole world, none so de-

cidedly and so instantaneously take part with the weak against the strong, with the oppressed against the oppressor. The fears of the funding and borough systems have gone far in hardening the hearts of those who depend thereon, and have induced them to give their tacit consent, at least, to acts, which, formerly, would have excited universal horror; but, in a case like that of her Majesty, where these fears have no weight, the native character breaks forth in all its humanity and all its justice:—and, therefore, those were but poor philosophers, who thought that, because Green Bags had been so successful against the Radicals, they must also be successful against the Queen.

Her Majesty became an object of *compassion* with the people almost from the moment of her marriage. A great sacrifice had been made, and cheerfully made, to render her marriage happy. When, therefore, she, with her infant daughter, had to quit her home, and that, too, without any misconduct on her part, without even any *alleged* misconduct, the nation felt most deeply for her as for an *injured wife*, and it also complained, on its own part, that

its reasonable expectations had been disappointed.

The people well knew the causes of the separation; and, in whatever way they viewed the matter, the Queen was still the injured party. It was clear that she was treated in a way, that even the *law* did not allow of; and, while such pains were taken to inculcate amongst the people the obligations of the marriage tie, it shocked every one, that so little was thought about *example*. Surely *inclination* ought not to have been too strong for all other considerations in a case like this! But, without imputing blame anywhere, it is certain, that the nation, from this time forward regarded her Majesty as an *injured wife*, who had a well known legal right to *live with* her husband.

There is nothing surer than injury to beget friends, in a case like this. Mankind have the justice to bear in mind what enormous sacrifices every woman makes in giving herself up to a husband, and how little she receives in return. Indeed, it is agreed by common consent, that she is to enjoy by *influence* something to balance against the husband's *authority*; and,

if this were not really to take place, the lot of a wife would be worse than that of a negro slave. The *law* is all on the side of the husband; and this is one reason, and a very good reason too, that every body is, in all disputes between man and wife, on the side of the latter, until it be *clearly proved* that she is in the wrong.

Women, though almost slaves *by law*, have, in this country, (and, thank God, they have) a great deal of *influence*. Not *corrupt influence*, but legitimate, wholesome, enlivening, and ennobling influence. They are, too, a *sisterhood*. They resent every affront offered to them as a *sex*. Men are so many detached individuals. But women are a body corporate. Touch one and you touch the whole. Coquettes, who hate each other as rivals, will defend each other as *women*. Every husband should bear this in mind. It is one of the indirect checks upon his husbandish authority; and woe be to the man that sets it at defiance.—The whole weight of this corporation was thrown into the Queen's scale, the moment she quitted Carleton House without any offence even alledged

against her. And, the whole of this immense weight she has had on her side *from that day to this.*

This fact, of such vast importance in the case, your Majesty's ministers, who are, I believe, all *married* men, ought to have well considered, before they filled their Green Bags. If, upon this occasion, their *wives* had been consulted, the measures would, I imagine, have been very different from what they have been. Had I been a minister, I should have made a hasty retreat, the moment it was determined on to leave the *Queen's name out of the Liturgy.* I should have been sure that all the *women* would be displeased; that they would make the cause *their own*; and that, in the *end*, they would, by one means or another, make me repent of my share of the measure. If your Majesty could have seen, as I did, a group of women, the other day, standing at the corner of Westminster Bridge, with one, as spokeswoman, saying to the rest:—"Why, is it not our *own Queen*;" "and, shall we not have her *crowned*?" If your Majesty could have seen this group, and observed the determined aspect

of the parties, I am inclined to think, that we should hear no more of the cause of agitation.

The strong feeling favourable towards the Queen, which existed from the moment of the separation, was never weakened by the tales of 1806 and 1807. The *women*, who had always supposed that she had been calumniated previous to the separation, either regarded the tales as arising from new calumnies, or, worst come to worst, apologized for her beforehand, upon the ground of her being neglected, ill-used, and abandoned; but, which was her great protection, the late king showed her *his countenance* all the while. And, when the *real facts* came fully out in 1813, they were filled with indignation. They had supposed, that lies enough had been invented; but, when they found, that the wife of the heir apparent, and the mother of her whom all the young people hoped to see Queen of England; when they found this wife and mother had been accused, on *oath*, of having been *pregnant*, of *having had a son*, and of *having suckled him*; when they found, that all this was *false*; and, moreover, that the *perjured witnesses had been shel-*

tered from punishment; when they found this, their feeling in favour of the injured and insulted Princess met with an equal in their detestation of her base and execrable accusers, whom they have never forgotten or forgiven to the present hour.

But, "there was a child," said the vile calumniators, loath to let loose their hold. "There was a child; and, it was very strange, that the "Princess should take the child of a poor man, and breed it up." This argues great perverseness; most malignant wickedness; or profound ignorance of the characters of women. There are some women, whose very nature impels them to fondness for babies; who actually are miserable, till they arrive at a certain age, unless they have little children about them, and even to be nursing and dandling. Every man knows this; but, the proof of it may be found in the records of the Foundling Hospital, where little babies are put out to be kept for a time by poor men's wives, and where it will be found, that hundreds of the children have been kept and brought up by the poor people as their own children and at their own expence, rather than let them be

taken from them. I myself have known three instances of this kind. And, indeed, it is notorious, that there are many women so fond of little children, that nothing can restrain their desire to have them in their arms or about their persons. In the course of a day we see scores of women in the public walks quitting their companions to go up to a baby in arms, though never seen before, to chirrup to it and caress it. Nothing is a greater treat to a company of women than to get round a baby and talk about it, and to it, though it be not a month old. The fondness of women for young children is perfectly a passion; it makes a part of their nature; and a very amiable part of it too. In proportion, also, as this passion exists in them, they are kind-hearted, ardent in all their feelings, generous and brave. Unfortunate is the man, who does not know how to prize this endearing propensity in woman; and, of all the amiable and excellent things that I have heard of her Majesty, the Queen, nothing does, in my eyes, do her more honour than this very trait, which her enemies have made use of for the purposes of calumnious insinuation.

The peculiarity of her Majesty's then situation rendered the taking of this little boy the more natural. She was a young woman; a young wife without a husband. Her only child was upon the point of being taken from her, if not then actually gone. What more rational, what more benevolent occupation, than to take a poor man's child, to bestow on him a mother's cares, and to rear him up to manhood? What more inoffensive and what more consoling, in her situation, than the hope that she was raising up one being, at least, that would be grateful to her through life? Greatly to her honour, the taunts of the wretched villains, who have been hired to calumniate her Majesty, have not induced her to abandon this child, now become a man; and all that we have to hope is, that he may, both in conduct and endowments, be worthy of the care and kindness that have been bestowed upon him; and, above all things, that he may be a consolation to, and, if necessary, be ready to lay down his life for her to whom he has, though innocently, been the cause of so much persecution.

The subsequent treatment of

her Majesty, in her exclusion from Court and in a prohibition to visit or to see her daughter, was extremely well calculated to add to the public feeling in her favour. All the circumstances considered, there would have been sufficient apology for attachments, which are not allowable under other circumstances. There were many persons who thought, that, if the charges against her had been true, she rendered herself liable to no very great degree of censure. An injured wife may be permitted to do many things not to be tolerated in a wife that has received no injury. For her Majesty to have pined away her time; for her to have sitten moping like a forlorn creature worthy of rejection, would, in my opinion, have greatly lowered her in claim to public regard. Like a woman of spirit and of merit, she sustained her cheerfulness and gaiety; and, if she had gone a step further the opinion of the world would have been, that she had still a title to be judged of with the greatest indulgence. Speaking for myself, upon this subject, I can see no reason why a woman of thirty is to lock up her heart, to know nothing more of those

feelings which are a compensation for the numerous ills of life; to become a piece of wood or of marble, merely because a husband's capricious inclination has rejected her. The wife promises fidelity; but the husband promises all sorts of goodness towards her; and the common sense of mankind rejects, with scorn, the idea, that the contract is to be binding on one side only. Those Holy Scriptures, on a charge of having spoken irreverently of which, so many Englishmen are now wasting away their bodies in dungeons; those Holy Scriptures tell us, that we are not to put away our wives for any cause, *save that of adultery*; and they add, that he who putteth away his wife without this provocation, *causeth her to commit fornication*. So that, if her Majesty really had had a son, as was alleged, the fault, according to these Holy Scriptures, would not have been that of her Majesty. Hard, indeed, would be the lot of woman, if to all the other hardships and privations which the law compels her to submit to, if the husband chuse to exercise them, they were also to be bound to abandon their very nature as females, the mo-

ment the husband chose to decline an intercourse with them. For my part, I cannot conceive how such a thought ever found its way into the mind of man; and, thank God, there are very few men, into whose minds the thought ever did find its way.

Ninety-nine hundredths of the nation, and, indeed, of the whole of mankind, entertain a similar way of thinking upon this subject; and, therefore, if her Majesty really had been justly charged, in 1806, no very harsh sentence would have been passed upon her by the public; and though they might have been silent upon the subject of her exclusion from court and from intercourse with her only child, they would have thought such treatment a great deal too severe, and especially when they recollected, and had so fully in their minds the causes which had produced her calamity. What then must they necessarily have thought, when the charges were proved to have been *groundless*; when the informers were openly acknowledged to have been perjured; and when the circumstances, out of which the allegations had arisen were shewn to be such as to do her the greatest honour!

When her Majesty left England to travel on the Continent, she left behind her the compassion and the warmest good wishes of the nation. She left behind her also very different feelings towards those who had been the advisers of the treatment which she had experienced. The death of her child during her absence; the circumstances of that death; every thing tended to keep alive the feelings which existed at her Majesty's departure. No wonder, then, that the people in London, while the heralds were proclaiming your Majesty King; no wonder that their voices drowned the noise of the trumpets with the cry of "*God bless the Queen!*" No wonder, that, at that very moment they crowded round Mr. ALDERMAN WOOD, and besought him, with an earnestness not to be described, to promise to protect the Queen! No wonder that, when they heard of her heroic conduct at St. Omers, and when they saw her throw herself upon their protection, they should feel a resolution to defend her by all the lawful means in their power! While her Majesty was entering London, with her deplorable and dust-covered equi-

page; at that very moment CASTLEREAGH had laid the Green Bags upon the Table, and was coolly proceeding to propose a vote of thanks to your Majesty; and at that very moment, a shout from the top of Westminster Bridge; a shout of "*God save the Queen!*" told the assembly what the nation thought of the contents of those Bags!

Every occurrence from that day to this has tended to strengthen and confirm what the nation then thought. Evidence conveyed in sealed bags. Secret Committees to examine that evidence and report upon it, while the Queen prayed for open trial. A refusal to furnish her with the names of the witnesses to be brought against her. A refusal to give her the names of the places where the alleged acts had been committed; and, a suspension of the opening of the trial for five weeks, while a document charging her with the foulest offences was promulgated throughout the world. Treated in every respect as criminal, and not permitted to take any one step to prove her innocence. All these things the people have well observed; and, above all things,

they have observed the insolent deportment of the Borough-mongers towards her Majesty.

The press, that part of it, I mean, which is, upon all occasions, praising the ministers, has assailed the Queen with a degree of bitterness and foulness, which, if employed against the wife of any Boroughmonger, would have brought down upon the offender, a punishment little short of death. And these atrocious offences have been committed with perfect impunity. But, amongst all the incidents, none has been better calculated to excite disgust and resentment than the conduct of the Members for Yorkshire, in refusing to be the bearers of an address to her Majesty from a great town in that county. The excuse of one of those members was, that it would be *inconvenient* to him to wait upon her Majesty. His own affairs took him another way! This "*Corinthian Pillar*," as his teacher, BURKE, called him, had something else to do! And, as to the other, he regarded the address as prejudging the question, forgetting, apparently, that the Bill of Pains and Penalties, which calls the Queen an adulteress, and which divorces her

from her husband, had been promulgated without the Queen having been suffered to offer a word in her defence.

Upon all these things the public have remarked; and the result has been a decided conviction which nothing now will be able to shake. CASTLE-REAGH now alleges that the Queen's cause is made a handle of, by *those who wish for a revolution!* If this were true, it would be wise in him to give way at once, and let the revolution quietly take place; for, even excisemen, custom-house officers, clerks in office, and other numerous persons who are paid out of the public money, and to name whom, in a manner more particular, would be something more than unnecessary; all these are for the Queen; so that, if the Queen's friends are *Revolutionists*, the thing is as good as settled.

But, Sir, this is not true. The Queen's cause is by no means connected with any hostility to the Throne, or to any part of the *Constitutional Establishments*. It is connected with a desire to see measures adopted that would give stability to the Throne and to those establishments: and the attempt to make

It be believed that those who object to this course of proceeding against the Queen, are enemies of the Throne, is much about upon a level with the assertion that, to uphold the Throne, we must approve of the selling of seats in the Parliament.

This is, however, an old, stale, disgusting trick. If we complain that sixty, eighty or ninety thousand a-year, is voted as money for *secret services*, we are, at once, accused of wanting a revolution. If we complain that a hundred thousand a-year is given out of the taxes to a clergy who already receive a tenth part of the produce of the earth, many of whom have two livings, and reside upon neither, and the dignitaries of which church have, many of them, palaces to reside in, and incomes allowed to them far greater than those allowed to your Royal Brothers; if we complain that, in addition to all this, a hundred thousand a-year is taken out of the fruits of our labour to be given to the members of this church, our complaint can be accounted for in no other way than by asserting that we want a revolution! If, now that the Bourbons are

restored, we complain that more than fifty thousand pounds a-year are taken from us to be given to the French, and other foreign emigrants, and that, too, at a time when documents are before Parliament, to show that, in whole districts, our own people are starving, and while we are actually paying other taxes to ship off half starving creatures to dwell on the sands of the Cape of Good Hope; if, under these circumstances we complain of these enormous benevolences to French and other emigrants, we are charged with wanting a revolution! If we complain that pensions have been settled on foreigners, in direct breach of that very law which placed your Majesty's family on the Throne, we are silenced by being told that we want a revolution! In short, we can complain of nothing; we can pray for nothing; we must subscribe to every thing; we must be as silent as the grave, or we must crawl like spaniels, or, we are charged with wanting a revolution!

If, however, there are dangers of revolution, whom has your Majesty to thank but this very CASTLEREACH and his

colleagues? Those men who have plunged the country in irredeemable debt; who have rendered the country the most distressed that ever was known in the world: who have stript it of all its fair and legitimate means of maintaining its honour among nations; who have divided its people, shaken all confidence, and destroyed the very hope of gradual and peaceable return to prosperity. If revolution be dreaded, who has your Majesty to blame but the men who, to all the other causes of danger that they had brought upon us, have now added this new subject of agitation, of alarm, and of peril?

Let them, therefore, hold their peace about revolutions; and not seek to throw the burden of responsibility from their own shoulders to those of men who have always deprecated and protested against the measures that have brought them into their present situation. Who, but themselves, kept the Queen's name from the Liturgy? Who, but themselves, caused the Queen to be insulted at St. Omers? It was they who sent a deputation to kiss her hand one day, and who brought in a Bill of Pains and Penalties

against her the next. It is they, and their supporters and abettors, who, even now, carry on that which is agitating the country; and, therefore, if they see danger of revolution, let them take the merit of it exclusively to themselves.

However, let what will become of them, your Majesty and your people ought to love one another. This is what ought to be, and this is what would be, at all times, were it not for the advice of wicked and interested men, who are constantly endeavouring to make the King believe that *hatred of them is hatred of him*; and this is what I had the honour of fully explaining to your Majesty, during the last year. The contrary of this is so true and so evident, that one wonders how any Sovereign can be imposed upon by such an artifice. But, if proof had been wanted that hatred of ministers, even to the highest degree, can exist without any hatred to the King, what striking proof has been furnished within the last three months. The five men whose heads were severed from their bodies for having designed and prepared to *kill your ministers*, repelled, with indignation, the charge of

disloyalty. Five bolder and braver men never existed in this world. They faced death with a calmness that never was surpassed. They justified their intention; but they scorned the appellation of *traitor*. One of them said, with the certainty of death before his eyes; that, so far from having harboured any evil intention towards the King, he had always been a loyal man, and had *never even suffered any one to speak disrespectfully of the King in his presence*. Another of them, when he was mounting the scaffold, used the glass of wine that was offered him *to drink the King's health, and to wish him a happy reign!*

If, amongst any description of persons, revolutionists were to be found, they might certainly be looked for amongst men like these; yet, even amongst those men, who harboured the most deadly designs against your ministers, we find unshaken loyalty towards yourself. And this is the feeling of the whole nation. The people have no designs, which are inconsistent with the exercise of your Majesty's kingly power. They want no change inconsistent with the exercise of that power.

And all the endeavours which are made to induce your Majesty to ascribe the discontents of your people to a want of loyalty towards yourself, and to a desire to overthrow your family and throne, are a pure invention for the purpose of closing your ears against the just complaints of your people, and for securing and perpetuating the ill-gotten influence of your own and your people's enemies.

To what this course, which has been so long pursued, may finally lead, it is impossible for any one to say; but, this we all know, that whatever evils may happen to the Throne and Royal family of this kingdom, if, contrary to all our wishes, such evil should arise, no part of them will be ascribable to any body except those councillors, under whose advice Reform has been refused, and her Majesty the Queen has been so cruelly persecuted.

With all the sentiments that become an Englishman who understands his own rights and his duty towards his Sovereign, I am your Majesty's faithful and devoted subject and servant,

WM. COBBETT.

Mr. PERRY.

This gentleman, in his paper of Thursday, has applauded the Lord Mayor of London for pulling down what Mr. PERRY calls "*infamous and inflammatory Placards*." One of these Placards contained an extract, and *nothing else*, from Mr. PERRY's *own paper*! As to its being *infamous*, the accusation is foolish. It might be calculated to *in-flame*; but, that was its merit! We write and speak, sometimes to inform, and sometimes to *in-flame*: sometimes for both together. Seldom have the writings of Mr. PERRY a tendency to produce either of those effects; and he ought, it seems to me, to be greatly obliged to the person who has taken the trouble to select and give currency to one of the very few articles of Mr. PERRY's writing worthy of the public attention. The truth is, that Mr. PERRY, if he has any good disposition, is kept in check by the old hang-dog faction to whom his vanity binds him. They do not know what to be at; and he is acting a sort of non-descript part, undoing to-morrow what he does to-day. The Edinburgh Reviewers are much about in the same state.

They have so long been looking for place in vain, that their natural sourness is turned into a species of fury; and their fury is not the less on account of their perceiving that turning the ministers out will not put them in. The possibility of seeing that horde quartered upon us has, until of late, been a constant dread with me for more than fifteen years. CASTLEREAGH and his set have pretty well drained the pockets of the nation; they have sweated us down to a reasonable bulk; but if these Edinburgh Reviewers had been permitted to fall upon us, they would not have left us the skin to cover our wretched bones.—However, thank God, there is no fear of them now! These are times when such lumber makes little shift. They are too dull for the events that are passing. Read one of their Reviews and it brings to your mind the gallop of a cart-horse along a race course.—As to the Lord Mayor of London pulling down Placards, he knows his business best, but whether he be friend or foe to the cause he espouses, he may take my word for it that he is doing that cause a great deal of good: every one is eager to see, or to know the

contents of, that which he is so anxious to keep out of sight. Let him take a lesson from what has happened to *his brother of Rochester*, and he will see reason, perhaps, to confine his hostility in future to his wishes, which, though very impotent, cannot be more so than his acts.

THE EXAMINER.

No wonder that this paper has excited the rancour of persons whom I need not name. Its conduct with regard to the cause of the Queen has been most laudable. Truth, energy, elegance, ability, have here been employed with a degree of fearlessness which the cause demands: and if they are worth the Editor's acceptance, I beg him to accept of my best thanks for the great delight which the article alluded to has given me. I am aware that it may be said that *memory* assisted his pen upon this occasion. So much the better. It is not in such a case *vindictiveness*, it is justice; and miserable, indeed, would be the lot of man were he not allowed to take justice when placed within his reach. I concur in every one of his sentiments uttered upon this occa-

sion. They were all just; all well expressed. They did great honour to the writer, and the publishing of them was no mean compliment to his readers.

MR. WOOLER'S PAPERS.

Here also the cause has been ably sustained. The author has not suffered himself to be warped in his politics, nor has he neglected them. He has taken up the cause of the Queen upon the same principle that he has maintained, with so much ability, the cause of the people; and, indeed, how can a man, with the means in his hands, and with a heart in his body, refrain from espousing that cause?

THE TRAVELLER.

This Evening Paper has devoted a considerable part of its columns to the cause of the Queen. Excellent reasoning; great ability all through, and a complete refuter of the calumnies of the Courier, the Morning Post and the New Times. I have not seen the other evening papers; but I have heard that all, except the Courier, act an honest part. The Traveller is careful in collecting

the addresses to the Queen and her answers; full as careful as Mr. PERRY is negligent; and, with the exception of *the Times newspaper*, the Queen's cause is, perhaps, most indebted to the Traveller. The truth is, however, that the press would carry on it marks of everlasting infamy if it were not to espouse this cause. It is perfectly unnatural not to do it. Not to espouse this cause, being able to do it, a man must be bad in his very disposition. There is no room for balancing. The man that can balance here must have "said unto corruption, thou art my father." The time will come, and that shortly, when every writer, who shall have taken the other side, will be regarded as a monster; and he must either get the fact disguised, or, with ruffians, like Edwards, contrive to disguise himself. There will always be somebody to excuse men for want of principle and feeling in cases that admit of doubt; but this case is so clear, it is so obvious to every eye; the wickedness of taking a wrong course is of so diabolical a nature, that the offender cannot possibly escape execration. There is no merit in espousing the cause of

the Queen. A man must believe himself not to be a man. He must not only have lost all the feelings connected with the consciousness of being, or of wishing to be, a husband; he must not only know nothing about the feelings of brother for sister, or father for a daughter. He must believe himself not to have had a mother before he can be destitute of feeling for the cause of her Majesty.—What those monsters are, who have made use of the press *against* her Majesty, I will give a sort of specimen in the history of two of them; and I beg my readers to mark well the facts I am going to state.—One of these writers *turned his wife out of doors*; allowed her a miserable pittance to exist on for several years, while he lived in splendour with another woman. The poor wife died in this state of separation, and the ruffian now lives with that other woman.—The other did not *turn* his wife out of doors; but compelled her to go out herself, or witness an intercourse of a nature too foul to be described between him and a relation of her own, an intercourse forbidden by the laws of *consanguinity*, as well as by the

marriage tie, by conscience and by honour.—Such is a specimen of those who have made use of the press against her Majesty the Queen; and my opinion is, that, if the truth could be come at, we should find that her Majesty has very few active enemies who are not of this odious and detestable description.—There appears to be *innate cruelty* absolutely necessary to induce a man to take up his pen against her Majesty. All cruelty is odious, even towards dumb animals; but cruelty towards a woman, and one that has never offended us, too, must spring from a heart that is hard, unfeeling and ferocious in its very nature.

Luckily there are very few persons of this description in any country; and it would be strange, indeed, if they were numerous in this. However, I, for my part, am for ransacking the history of these ruffians. I am not for suffering them to go dressed up in the character of gentlemen to call for the more than half murdering of Mr. and Mrs. Carlile upon the ground of their publishing things injurious to morality and religion. I am for stripping the mask from them, that they may be know

and detested.—It will be useful, in all parts of the country, to sift well into the history of those who take part against the Queen; in order that we may have the history at hand to be used for the benefit of truth and of justice.

RESTRICTIONS ON THE PRESS.

Men like those that I have just mentioned are strenuously recommending *further restrictions upon the press!* And what would that do without a Bourbon censorship? And what would the Bourbon censorship do? Just nothing at all. It could not retard events one single moment. Nay, my opinion is, it would accelerate them. However, that it could do no good to those who talk of it, I am very certain; and, therefore, they will do well to hold their tongues; for, by speaking they only show the greatness of their rage and its impotence at the same time.

SHAM PUBLICATIONS.

One way of attacking her Majesty is that of putting forth publications, *as if they came from herself or her friends; as if they were published by*

authority. A thing of this sort, entitled **SIX YEARS IN ITALY**, and dedicated, by way of puff, to **Mr. ALDERMAN WOOD**, has made its appearance. This is a mass of falsehoods, coming from a source such as will shock the public when it shall be informed of that source.

There is preparing for publication a little manuel, under the following title, which, it is hoped, may be of great use to his Majesty's loyal subjects in general. An endeavour will be made to bring the whole into a compass of one sheet of paper, and to sell it at the price of **ONE PENNY**.

A PEEP AT THE PEERS,
OR,

A complete List of the House of Peers, showing their titles, their family names, their offices, places, commissions, preferments, sinecures, pensions, grants, and other emoluments, which they hold and enjoy by favour of the King; and also, the offices, places, commissions, preferments, sinecures, pensions, grants, and other emoluments, which are held and enjoyed by their sons, daughters, brothers, uncles,

aunts, cousins, and other relations: as nearly as the said several matters can be ascertained.

To which there may be a companion-piece, entitled

THE
**LINKS OF THE LOWER-
HOUSE;**

Or, a complete List of the Members of the House of Commons, showing, in the first place, every thing as above; and, besides, showing the connections between the Upper and the Lower House.

REVOLUTION IN NAPLES.

Extract of a letter dated Naples, July 6th; to which the writer has added—"a day to be for ever remembered in history:"—

"This letter announces to you no less an event than a change in the Government of this country. You were before aware of the discontent existing in the provinces, on account of the imposition of the *Fundaria*, and of the little encouragement given to the exports of native productions; but you were not aware to what a degree this discontent had infected all classes, and even the ranks

of the army. The organization of the camp at Sessa may be reckoned the immediate cause of all that has occurred, as it appears that it not only gave to the troops an opportunity of concerting their measures, but brought them into contact with the provinces, and assured them of the community of sentiment in the great mass of the population. The whole thing has been so sudden that it is difficult to ascertain exactly how it began, or who took the lead in the operation. According to the best accounts, there is reason for believing that the first movement was made by a body of cavalry stationed at Nola, to the number of about 150 men, who suddenly, and without orders, quitted their post, and marched in a body to the mountains of Avellino. Whether the result of previous understanding or not, is unknown; but the alarm of this march spread with the rapidity of lightning; detachments of infantry marched out to join them, and every peasant who could muster a firelock or an offensive weapon of any description, followed their example. This mixed assemblage then proceeded towards the pass leading to Apulia, of

which they took possession. They found there a military chest containing 22,000 ducats, which they appropriated to their own use, but gave an acknowledgment in due form to the party from whom they took it. The news of this insurrection having reached Naples caused the greatest alarm, and some Generals were sent off by the King to parley with the mutineers, and learn what objects they had in view. A Council was immediately called at the Palace, to deliberate on the mode of proceeding; while they were in the act of deliberating (this was yesterday afternoon), two regiments, one of infantry, the other of dragoons, quartered about a mile from the town, marched off with arms and baggage, but in the most perfect order, to join the insurrectionary troops. An intimation was then brought to the King from the head-quarters of the insurgents, that they demanded a free Constitution, similar to that which had been adopted in Spain.—Preparations were made to oppose and to reduce this spirit; but it was discovered, on sounding the disposition of those troops who had not yet declared against the

Government, that they all at heart were imbued with the same sentiments, and that they could not with safety be led against their comrades. This state of things was reported to the King, on which he gave way, and declared his assent to the condition proposed. Couriers were sent off to the troops early this morning, to announce this change; and papers were exhibited on the walls of the city, declaring the King's intention to publish a Constitution or form of free Government in seven days. Where this would have ended but for the timely concession that has been made, it is impossible to say; for the spirit spread through the soldiery with such rapidity that even St. Elmo was deserted by its garrison. The general appearance of the city, during the interval between the parley with the troops and the King's resolution to accede to their wishes, was most singular. Every face was marked by anxiety, and denoted the expectation of some dreadful event. When the joyful change was known, nothing was to be seen or heard but the most lively testimonies of pleasure. Groups paraded the streets with shouts of *Viva! Viva!*

and these were by no means of the lowest or lower classes. I saw two officers in the uniform of Generals who joined in the exultation. There was a very general cry for the appearance of the King on the balcony of the Palace, but he did not show himself. This is the birth-day of the hereditary Prince, and to-night we shall have a grand illumination."

Extract of another letter, same date:

"It is now about a week ago, since a very general spirit of fermentation and discontent was observed in the province of Salerno; and last Sunday we heard that a whole regiment of cavalry had deserted, and posted themselves near Nola. Shortly after, all the troops were put in motion against them, but it was discovered that disaffection prevailed, and that no reliance could be placed upon them, which made it evident that coercive measures would be of no use, but that every means must be tried to conciliate matters; the more so, as it was believed that discontent, more or less, prevailed in all the provinces. Things were carried on this way till yesterday, when the King having been told that a free

Constitution was the universal wish of the people, declared that he would give it to them voluntarily, and immediately issued a proclamation, promising to publish it in a week. It is said that an affecting scene has taken place at the Palace. When the King declared his intention, the hereditary Prince, who is just arrived from Sicily, fell at the feet of the King, and in tears thanked him in the name of the people, exclaiming, "You have saved the country." It only remains for the Insurgent troops, so they were then called, but now the Patriots, to return to their duty, which they will do as soon as they know the terms of the Constitution, which they wish to be as near as possible to that of Spain. The city has been for some days past in extreme agitation. The Civica (city volunteers) have been continually on duty. At this moment there are thousands and tens of thousands parading the streets near the Palace, and shouting *Vivas!* to the King and Constitution. We think that all will proceed quietly, and end safely."

SPAIN.

MEETING OF THE CORTES.

From the Madrid Gazette Extraordinary of the 10th July.

The memorable epoch is arrived in which the wishes of the Spanish nation were to be fulfilled—the happy day, in which a people determined to preserve the liberty and the dignity of the throne, have seen their adored King giving another decisive and irrefragable proof of his paternal views, of the love which he bears to his subjects, and of the earnest desire which animates him to concur, in concert with the Cortes, in founding and consolidating the public happiness by means of a constitution essentially directed to the welfare of all—the happy hour, in which Ferdinand the Seventh, uniting his sentiments with those of the Spanish people, presented himself before the august national congress in the solemn act of swearing to the constitution of the monarchy. All the necessary arrangements for the celebration of this solemn ceremony had been previously made. The King having appointed the hour of 10 in the morning of yesterday, Sunday, the 9th of July, for proceeding to the hall of the Cortes, his Ma-

Majesty left his palace, accompanied by his august spouse and the Infantas, attended by his suite, in state coaches.

On reaching the hall of the Cortes they were received by two grand deputations of the national representatives. One, consisting of 22 members, accompanied the Queen to the tribune which had been prepared for her, that she might, in company with the Infantas, enjoy the spectacle of so solemn a ceremony. The other deputation, consisting of 32 members, including two of the secretaries, was appointed to attend on the King.

When his Majesty entered, all the members stood up, as well as the diplomatic corps in the tribune on the right of the throne. The councillors of state, generals, and magistrates, occupied the other tribunes; the immense multitude which filled the galleries could not restrain themselves from bursting into loud acclamations and *Vivas!* The King took his seat on a magnificent throne, on the sides of which were displayed the royal insignia. As soon as the King had seated himself, the Infantas, the President of the Cortes, and all the Deputies, also sat down. After a short pause the President rose, and, with the Secretaries, proceeded to receive the King's oath, which was taken in the manner prescribed by the Constitution.

Don Joseph Espiga, Archbishop Elect of Seville, as President of the Cortes, then addressing himself to the King, delivered the following speech:—

“The Cortes, at a less enlightened period, but of great and sublime virtues, preserved the fundamental laws of the kingdom, the glory and splendour of the throne, and the national prosperity; but that wise institution which united the King and the nation by the great and noble sentiments of affection and loyalty, gradually declined, fell at last into oblivion, and the nation became the theatre of ambition, and the King an instrument of bad passions. But the day of your Majesty's birth was the Aurora of the restoration of Spain; and more than twenty millions of inhabitants view in their young Prince the worthy successor of St. Ferdinand. They were congratulating themselves with these flattering hopes, when, at the same time that the sacrilegious project of extinguishing your sacred rights was conceived in the bosom of the nation, a vile impostor perfidiously introduced his hostile legions, and wrested from the arms of the faithful Spaniards their beloved monarch, at the very moment when he had just been placed on the throne of his glorious progenitors. The Spanish lion was then roused, and a general and uniform cry gave spirit and vigour to the valorous sons of Pelayo; and while the brave warriors advanced with their breasts of bronze, and expelled the tyrant's hosts from their native land, the fathers of the country, who had been called upon by the general voice of the provinces, re-established the constitution of the Spanish mo-

narchy, which, by solemnly declaring the person of the King sacred and inviolable, has more firmly fixed the Crown on your Majesty's royal head, has secured you against the artifices of any favourite, and thus enables your Majesty to act more freely for the benefit of your people, and the welfare of the state.

"The worthy sons of the country conceived that they could not make a better return to the confidence with which the provinces honoured them, nor offer to their King a more acceptable tribute, than to consolidate a vacillating throne, by placing it on the broad basis of a fundamental law, which, being the legacy of our ancestors, and the expression of wisdom, justice, and the public will, closed the door equally against vile flattery and unjust aggression. It secured the administration of justice, established a just system of public economy, and sanctioned the respect, obedience, and veneration, due to the laws and the royal authority. Thus felt the representatives of the nation in Cadiz. I saw them, Sire, send up deep sighs to Heaven for the cruel captivity of their King: I saw them, like orphans, shedding tears of sorrow and anguish, and, humbled before the Lamb of God, praying for the return of so amiable a father to his numerous and disconsolate family. I saw them, overwhelmed with joy and delight, give vent to their oppressed hearts when they learned that the Almighty had listened to their fervent supplications, and that the tutelary angel of

Spain had descended to break the chains imposed by tyranny. Such were their generous sentiments when sordid Interest, crafty Ambition, atrocious Calumny, and insatiable Vengeance, after meditating in obscurity their detestable plots, dared to approach the throne, and sacrilegiously profane the sanctuary of majesty. But, Sire, let us spread a veil over those melancholy proofs of human weakness.

"At length the happy day arrived when a bright star arose on the Spanish horizon, which dissipated the thick clouds formed by intrigue and malevolence, and sacred truth shone forth with a brilliancy which excited the admiration of some, the respect of others, the confusion of many, and the conviction of all. Happy Spain again sees assembled those Cortes which rendered the names of her Alphonsos and her Ferdinands so glorious; and the most virtuous of nations—forgetting wrongs, pardoning injuries—is solely employed in re-establishing a constitutional government, in preserving the purity of her holy religion, and in giving testimonies of gratitude and veneration to her King, now seated on his august throne amidst the national congress, after having taken a solemn oath, by which he is made greater than the son of Philip was by the conquest of Oriental kingdoms. O magnanimous King! the noble and loyal Spaniards are sensible of the numerous evils from which you have saved them by this generous act, by which the genius of

Evil, prepared to light up the flame of discord among us, is crushed. All hope that every pernicious germ will be extinguished, and that eternal peace and concord will take root in their stead. Let the fears, jealousies, and distrusting, which criminal souls have excited in the heart of the best of Kings, for ever disappear, and all unite in surrounding the throne with that fraternal alliance which secures order, produces plenty, maintains justice, and preserves peace. And permit me, Sire, the faithful organ of this congress, and of the nation it represents, to present to you the due homage of its fidelity, and of the honourable sentiments by which it is animated.

"As our illustrious ancestors always were the firmest support of the throne and the monarch, so the same Spain, always ready to give brilliant testimonies of loyalty and love to her Kings, solemnly promises you that her sons, who have displayed in war more sanguinary examples of fidelity than were known to past generations, will make sacrifices worthy of Spanish heroes, and the admiration of future ages."

His Majesty replied in the following terms:—

"I accept the expressions and sentiments of love and loyalty which the Cortes manifest towards me through the organ of its President; and I hope, through its assistance, to see the nation I have the glory to govern free and happy."

Immediately after his Majesty read with a clear intelligible voice, and with all the dignity

becoming his character, the following speech:—

"Gentlemen Deputies,

"At length has arrived the day, the object of my ardent wishes, on which I see myself surrounded by the representatives of the heroic and generous Spanish nation, and in which a solemn oath has completely identified my interests and those of my family with the interests of my people.

"When excess of evils produced the clear manifestation of the voice of the nation, formerly obscured by lamentable circumstances which ought to be erased from our memories, I immediately determined to embrace the desired system, and to take the oath to the political constitution of the monarchy sanctioned by the general and extraordinary Cortes in the year of 1812. Then did the Crown as well as the nation receive its legitimate rights, my resolution being no less spontaneous and free than conformable to my own interests and those of the Spanish people, whose happiness has never ceased to be the object of my sincerest wishes. My heart thus undissolubly united with the hearts of my subjects, who are also my children, the future presents to me only agreeable images of confidence, love, and prosperity.

"With what satisfaction must the grand spectacle be contemplated, hitherto unexampled in history, of a magnanimous nation, which has passed from one political state to another without convulsion or violence, subjecting her enthusiasm to the

guidance of reason, under circumstances which have covered with mourning, and inundated with tears, other less fortunate countries!

"The general attention of Europe is now directed to the proceedings of the Congress which represents this highly-favoured nation. From it are expected prudent indulgence for the past, and enlightened firmness for the future, and that at the moment which confirms the happiness of the present and succeeding generations, the errors of the preceding epoch may be buried in oblivion. It is also hoped that multiplied examples will be displayed of justice, beneficence, and generosity—virtues which always distinguished Spaniards—which the Constitution recommends, and which, having been religiously observed during the effervescence among the people, ought to be still more strictly practised in the Congress of their representatives, invested with the circumspcct and tranquil character of legislators.

"It is now time to undertake the examination of the state of the nation, and to commence those labours indispensable for the application of remedies suitable to the evils produced by ancient causes, and augmented both by the invasion of the enemy, and by the erroneous system of the succeeding period.

"The account of the public revenue, which the Secretary of State to whom that department belongs will present, will shew its diminution and embarrass-

ment, and will excite the zeal of the Cortes to seek and select, among the resources still possessed by the nation, those best suited for meeting the engagements and indispensable charges of the state. This inquiry will serve more and more to confirm the opinion, that it is essential and urgent to establish public credit on the immutable bases of justice and good faith, and the scrupulous observance and fulfilment of all engagements which give satisfaction and tranquillity to creditors and capitalists, native and foreign, and relief to the treasury. I fulfil one of the most sacred duties which the royal dignity and the love of my people impose on me in earnestly recommending this important object to the serious consideration of the Cortes.

"The administration of justice, without which no society can exist, has hitherto depended almost exclusively on the honour and probity of the judges; but, now made subject to known and established principles, it affords to the citizens new and stronger grounds of security; and still greater improvements are to be expected when our codes, carefully improved, shall attain that simplicity and perfection which the knowledge and experience of the age in which we live are capable of giving.

"In the interior administration difficulties are experienced which proceed from old abuses, aggravated during these latter times. The persevering application of the government, and

the zeal with which its agents and the provincial authorities labour to establish the simple and beneficent municipal system adopted by the constitution, are lessening the obstacles, and will, in time, perfect a department of the state, which has an essential influence over the public welfare and prosperity.

"The army and the navy call more particularly for my attention and solicitude. It will be one of my first cares to promote their organization; and establish them in the manner most convenient for the nation, as far as possible, the advantages of forces so important with that economy which is indispensable, and relying on the patriotism and good will of the people, and the wisdom of their representatives, to whom I shall always have recourse with entire confidence.

"It is to be expected that the re-establishment of the constitutional system, and the flattering prospect which that event presents for the future, may, by removing the pretexts of which malignity has been able to take advantage in the ultra-marine provinces, smooth the path to the pacification of those which are in a state of agitation or disturbance, and render unnecessary the employment of any other means. The examples of moderation and the love of order given by peninsular Spain, the just pride belonging to so worthy and generous a nation, and the wise laws which are promulgated conformable to the constitution, will contribute to

this object, to the oblivion of past evils, and will draw closer all Spaniards around my throne—sacrificing to the love of their common country all the recollections which might break or weaken those fraternal ties by which they ought to be united.

"In our relations with foreign countries the most perfect harmony in general prevails, with the exception of some few differences, which, though they have not disturbed the existing peace, have given rise to discussions which cannot be terminated without the concurrence and intervention of the Cortes of the kingdom. Such are the differences pending with the United States of America respecting the Floridas, and the marking out the boundaries of Louisiana. Contests likewise exist, occasioned by the occupation of Monte-Video, and other Spanish possessions on the left bank of the river Plata; but, though a complication of various circumstances has hitherto prevented the adjustment of these differences, I hope that the justice and moderation of the principles which guide our diplomatic operations, will produce a result suitable to the nation, and conformable to the pacific system, the preservation of which is now the general and decided maxim of European policy. The Regency of Algiers has given indications of a wish to renew its old system of restlessness and aggression. To avoid the consequences which may arise from this want of respect to existing

stipulations, the defensive treaty entered into in the year 1816 with the King of the Netherlands stipulated the union of the respective maritime forces in the Mediterranean, destined to maintain and secure the freedom of navigation and commerce.

"Thus, as it is the duty of the Cortes to consolidate general happiness through the medium of wise and just laws, and thereby to protect religion, the rights of the Crown, and of the citizens; so also it belongs to my office to watch over the execution and fulfilment of those laws, and especially of the fundamental law of the monarchy, in which the hopes and wishes of the Spanish people are centred. This will be my most grateful and most constant duty. To the establishment, and to the entire and inviolable preservation of the constitution, the power which that constitution grants to the royal authority will be devoted, and in that will also consist my duty, my delight, and glory. To fulfil and bring to perfection this great and salutary enterprise, after humbly imploring the aid and guidance of the Author of all good, I require the active co-operation of the Cortes, whose zeal, intelligence, patriotism, and love to my royal person, lead me to hope that they will concur in all the necessary measures for the attainment of such important ends, thus justifying the confidence of the heroic nation by which they have been elected."

The President replied:—

"The Cortes has heard with singular satisfaction the wise address in which your Majesty has expressed your noble and generous sentiments, and described the state of the nation. The Cortes presents to your Majesty its most respectful thanks for the ardent zeal with which you promote the general prosperity, and promises to co-operate with your Majesty's intelligence, and to contribute by all possible means to the attainment of the important objects for which it has been convoked."

The ceremonies of this august solemnity being ended, their Majesties and the Infantas withdrew from the Cortes with the same retinue with which they had entered, repeated cries of *Viva el Rey y las Cortes!* resounding through the hall, and all returned to the palace.

The streets through which the procession passed were lined with the different corps of the garrison of Madrid, and the national militia, both cavalry and infantry. The presence of their Majesties and the Infantas—the splendour of the retinue—the brilliancy of the equipages—the taste displayed in the tapestry (which ornamented the balconies of the windows)—the numerous concourse of people, which almost impeded the course of the procession—the repeated applause of all classes of persons, enthusiastically exclaiming *Viva el Rey; viva la Constitucion! viva el Rey constitucional, &c.*—and, above all, the recol-

lection of the object of the magnificent ceremony,—all concurred to render this day most glorious to the Spanish nation, and to present a spectacle which will be the eternal admiration of future ages.

The tranquillity and order which prevailed in the hall of the Cortes, as well as throughout the streets, served to confirm more than ever the good opinion that is entertained of the character of the inhabitants of this capital, who, on the *great day of Spain*, gave the most convincing proofs of their noble sentiments, their loyalty and

love of the King, and their adherence to those constitutional laws in which the happiness of all is centred.

The sitting of the Cortes was continued after his Majesty's departure; and, on the proposition of the deputy Count de Torenó, a committee was appointed to draw up an address in answer to his Majesty's speech; and for this purpose were elected the deputies Count de Torenó, Torrero, Martínez de la Rosa, Tapia, Temes, and General Quiroga. With this the solemn acts of the opening of the Cortes concluded.